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COPIES
OF
ORIGINAL LETTERS,
&c.

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~~Priestley (Joseph) [Appendix]~~

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COPIES
OF
ORIGINAL LETTERS

RECENTLY WRITTEN BY

PERSONS IN PARIS

TO

DR. PRIESTLEY IN AMERICA.

TAKEN ON BOARD OF A NEUTRAL VESSEL.

SECOND EDITION.

Thus, if Eternal Justice rule the ball,
Thus shall THEIR wives, and thus THEIR children fall;
THERE passengers shall stand, and, pointing, say,
While the long fun'rals blacken all the way,
THESE, THESE were they whose souls the furies steel'd!
POPE.

LONDON:

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PICCADILLY.

1798.



PREFACE.

London, May 14, 1798.

THE Letters of which the following are literal copies were found on board of a Danish ship*, lately brought into one of our ports, by the Diamond Frigate. The originals were inclosed in a cover directed to "*Dr. Priestley, in America.*" They have been exhibited, with the usual attestations, in the high court of admiralty, as part of the evidence in the proceedings against the above-mentioned ship, and her cargo, and are now remaining on record in the public registry of that court. Their authenticity is, therefore, placed beyond a dispute, and may be personally ascertained by any man who chuses to take that trouble.

* The Christiana, Nicholas Alboted, Master.

These letters relate almost exclusively to public matters; and their contents must be deemed interesting to every man who has a stake in the welfare of his country, or of any other civilized nation. Of the situation of the writers, and of the means of their information, little need be said; because the letters themselves speak sufficiently to those points. Mr. J. H. Stone is the brother of the person, acquitted about two years ago on a charge of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with France, in conjunction with one Jackson, who was convicted at Dublin, on a similar accusation. Mr. Stone has been settled at Paris ever since the revolution; he is the friend of Priestley and Talleyrand, and is intimately connected with Citizen Gallois*.

* This is the same Gallois who was lately sent over here by the Directory, on the pretence of negotiating the exchange of prisoners. It was soon found that he had nothing to propose on this subject; and his conduct, intercourse, and connections, proving that his business was of a very different nature, he was ordered to reside at some distance from London; upon which he immediately quitted the country, although his pretended business did not require his residence in town, but might as easily have been carried on in any other place, as indeed the fact had proved in the

Of the Lady nothing need be said, beyond what is publicly known, or what these letters will supply. Nor do the character and principles of Dr. Priestley require any illustration, any more than the nature of his prophecies, on the faith of which he is invited, by Mr. Stone, to return and fix his residence in England, "SUCH AS ENGLAND WILL THEN BE." A recommendation with which the Doctor may possibly not yet think it prudent to comply.

The papers themselves abound with matter of the most serious reflection. Volumes of commentaries might be written on such a text. If the animosity of these apostate Englishmen against their own country, their conviction that NO SUBMISSIONS will avert our danger, and their description of the engines employed by the Directory for our destruction, were impressed, as they ought to be, upon the minds of all our countrymen,

instance of Mr. Swinburn, who for many months was not suffered to come to Paris.

we should certainly never again be told of the innocent designs of these traitors, or their associates;—We should hear no more declaimers, or pamphleteers, calling out for peace, which even dishonour cannot purchase;—We should no longer see men of any rank or description amongst us acting, in this hour of danger, as Mr. Stone describes the Directory to act, and *flattering every passion and every prejudice, in order to disunite the people of England from their Government.*

Nor is it to us alone that these instructive lessons are addressed. The picture which these Letters exhibit of what has already past in Europe, and the prophetic statement of what is yet to come, are calculated (if any thing can yet do it) to rouse the apathy of those surrounding Governments whose ruin is fast approaching. They will find here every feature and lineament of the true Jacobin character. They will see the philosophical indifference with which Mr. Stone views the misfortunes of others, provided they contribute to support his systems;—his tranquil

and contented acquiescence in the punishment of his friends and accomplices, condemned to an exile much worse than death, for crimes, of which he says no man of common sense (even among their judges or their accusers) thought them guilty;—his insulting display of all the pillage, proscription, and massacre, which his principles have produced within so few years;—*a pretty decent progress, as he calls it, within so short a time!*—

"A world of woes dispatched in little space!"

his exultation in the overthrow of peaceful and unoffending governments;—his triumph over the devastation of free, and happy countries;—the delight with which he contemplates millions of his fellow creatures reduced to the most degrading slavery, and groaning under the yoke of the lowest and the worst of mankind;—and last, but most of all, the rapacious and sanguinary joy with which he enumerates the fresh kingdoms and empires devoted to the same destruction—closing the brilliant prospect with the view

of his own great, glorious, and flourishing country, torn by intestine discord, desolated by the ravages of a relentless and savage enemy, and sinking under the utmost extremities of human misery!

We who are not yet enlightened by this philosophy, which tolerates every thing except Christianity, and feels for every thing but human happiness, believe and trust that there is yet a Providence who watches over the fate of empires—just and powerful to confound the devices of these PROFLIGATE TRAITORS, and to turn to their own destruction the blow which is aimed at our existence.

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Paris, 12th, Feb. 1798, (25 Pluviose, 6 Year.)

DEAR SIR,

ALTHOUGH it is now a very considerable time that we have not had the pleasure of hearing immediately from you yourself; yet, either by way of England, or by Citizens coming from America, we are seldom for a long time without tidings of a more or less particular nature concerning you. The last we received from a young Frenchman, who tells us, that he has been particularly acquainted with you, and rejoiced us with the agreeable information, that at the peace you would not fail to revisit Europe; and that he hoped you would fix yourself in this country. Whether you fix yourself here or in England, (*as England will then be*) is probably a matter of little importance, except to your friends, who

will naturally be anxious to have you each where themselves are fixed; but we all think, that you are misplaced where you are, though, no doubt, in the way of usefulness,* however the sphere may be diminished. As you have now a friend on the Continent who can discuss this point with you better than myself, I leave it to his and your meditation, and enter on other matters.

I presume that you are not so far removed from the centre of the political world, in your retreat at Northumberland,† as not to be duly informed of the principal events that are passing in Europe, although you may not know much of the detail. You will of course have heard that our OLD COUNTRY is now the only one left to struggle against the French Republic, and left *under every disad-*

* Dr. Priestley is *in the way of usefulness* in America, because he is labouring there, as his associates are in Europe, to disunite the people from their government, and to introduce the blessings of French anarchy. But the sphere is too confined for his exertions. To produce the misery of four or five millions of men who have afforded him hospitality and protection, and to make the Western world the scene of desolation and confusion, is a result good as far as it goes, but hardly worth the labours of this great Prophet and Philosopher!—*Æstuat infelix, angusto limite mundi.*

† In America, the place of Dr. Priestley's residence.

vantage that every friend to her real welfare would wish; namely, in a very fair way of accomplishing your prophetic discourses, delivered at various times, and divers manners, of which happily they took no account.

You will have heard of the vast armaments and preparations of every kind which have been making for some months past, and which are carrying forward with all that energy and activity which characterizes this nation, when they have a purpose in hand which they must go through, cost what it will. Of it's cost they are well aware*, and I should make use of a term, very

* This passage may serve to confute the foolish notion that France, if unable to subdue us, is able to wear us out by a content of expence. The expenditure of France, little if at all inferior to ours, is drawn from the bowels of a totally exhausted country, without any means of external aid. Our navy by the protection of a continually increasing commerce, and by the consequent extension of agriculture and manufactures, contains within itself the principle of its own supply. Nor is it probable that any member of the French government can even form an idea of the extent of our resources, when animated and called forth by the spirit which now prevails in England.

It may indeed be doubted, notwithstanding Mr. Stone's assertion, whether the Directory have yet learnt what the attempt *will cost them*, unless they have begun to calculate it on the scale of Marcou.

insignificant in the expression, if I said they were only enthusiastic to put their projects in execution, they are so earnest in it as if their existence here, *and their eternal welfare* depended on the trial.—The invasion of England is a *denrée*, or merchandize of the first necessity for them, and I should doubt whether any concession on the part of England could now avert the experiment: whether it will be a fatal one to it's government, time only can determine. In the mean time, the government here are putting in work every engine, attempting to engage every passion, to enlist every prejudice, nevertheless always anxious to discriminate between the Government and the People, flattering the one, as much as they profess to execrate the other.*

A famous Turkish general having after a siege of two months, and a loss of eight thousand men, taken the fort of St. Elmo, an inconsiderable fortress of Malta, exclaimed: "If this be the price of the daughter, what will the mother cost us?"

* The preface has already pointed out this passage to the attention of all Englishmen. It contains the summary of all that we ever could have to fear in this country. But the game is no longer concealed—the disguise is gross and manifest. Venice, Genoa, and Swisserland, have taught us all to estimate the value of French fraternity. No artifices employed by France, no language used in this country, from whatever quarter, it may come, will now divide the people from their government.

While this last act of the French drama of this eventful struggle is taking place, the Republic has been playing a few interludes in various parts of Europe. You have heard of the destruction of the government of Venice, of the regeneration of that of Genoa, of the constitutional fermentation of the Cisalpine Republic;—the news of the present period is the fall of the Papal power, the possession of Rome by the French troops on account of the late massacre†, and the formation of this country into a new government under the name of the Roman Republic. In like manner as the French troops are now employed in pulling down the chief spiritual power in one part, another portion is occupied in overturning the genius of Aristocracy in the Swiss Cantons, each of which, under the influence of the French Republic, are busied in destroying their present tyrannic oligarchies, and melting the whole into an

† Nothing is more curious in the history of Jacobinism than its phraseology. Are prisoners, women, priests, and children, butchered by thousands at a time, in cold blood, and with every aggravated circumstances of cruelty? These are called *Revolutionary incidents*, ebullitions of popular zeal. But if, by the just resentment of a people whose religion he is insulting, and whose government he is labouring to overthrow, a Jacobin should perish in a riot of his own exciting, this becomes a *massacre*, for which no satisfaction will suffice, short of delivering over a whole nation to pillage and proscription, to anarchy and atheism.

Helvetic Republic, founded on the basis of the Rights of Man, with a representative government. Of the nature of their past governments, and the abuses which they contain, you will have a pretty just idea, if two volumes in octavo, of a View of Switzerland, written by Miss H. M. Williams, and now publishing in London, shall happen to fall into your hands.* The spirit of Equality, which has retraversed the Alps, has also entered the Rhine. The province of Suabia, is in insurrection in divers places, and though troops are marching to endeavour to suppress it, we expect to hear that the contagion spreads more rapidly. The state of the empire is such, especially among the little provinces, as to encourage this spirit of revolt. France at present treats the whole so much *de haut en bas*, that the

* This passage affords a curious commentary on the work here mentioned, which in principle and sentiment, can only be illustrated by the conduct of the *female Patriots*; who, after the massacre of the 10th of August, stripped and mutilated the carcases of the Swiss troops, who had then (as their brethren have since) fallen, in the discharge of their duty, and in the defence of a just cause. It must here be observed, that the unceasing industry with which the English press is loaded with libels on every established government, and on the whole state of society in Europe, under the form of novels, voyages, letters, and anecdotes, is one of those signs of the times (as Mr. Stone calls them) which most deserve the attention of those who wish well to morality and public order.

people can present but few sentiments of respect when they see their governors treated with so much contempt.*

The Congress assembled at Radstadt continue to object to the limits of the Rhine as the boundary of the French Republic; but as there is so much force on the one side, and so little reason on the other, it is easy to decide how the matter will be arranged. At present the Rhine is the boundary; the Court of Vienna has consented to the cession, having no personal interest to the contrary; and the King of Prussia has actually given up the provinces of Cleves and Guelders, and whatever other territory he held on this side the river. If, therefore, the Princes do not yield with a good grace to the present secularization, they will be compelled to a still greater; and probably at this moment it is finally and irrevocably determined that the whole Ecclesiastical part of Germany shall be secularized.

* No sentiment can be more just. It would be well if every government in Europe were impressed with this opinion. The late display of the tricolor flag at Vienna, proves, among a thousand other instances, how attentive the Directory is to the principle on which the remark is grounded.

What compensation the King of Prussia receives is not yet decided on—it is probable he will have Hanover, if arrangements can be taken without hurting the interests of the neighbouring friendly powers, but nothing is yet finally settled in that quarter.

Whatever can tend to humble the English government is most anxiously fought after, in whatever shape the mode of opposition presents itself. The only, or almost the only, outlet for English merchandize, is the port of Hamburgh. The French, who have at present long arms, have stretched out one of their fingers towards that town, and have, as we understand, even laid it on. We expect to hear every post that the port is shut against the English, and that the English merchandize which is emmagazined there, to the amount of three or four millions, is confiscated.* What the fate of these petty oligarchies in the North will be, is yet uncertain: whether these towns, such as

* The reader must not imagine that, because this prediction has not yet been verified, it is therefore a proof of ignorance in the writer. It is known to many persons, that this project was actually decided upon by France, and that its execution was prevented only by the fear of opposition from those continental powers, the ruin of whose commerce was involved in the consequences of such a measure.

Hamburgh, Embden, Franckfort, will remain as they are, under the great changes operating in the Empire ; or whether they will be amalgamated with some other territory,† and till the general day of deliverance arrives, which, according to the signs, does not appear to be at a very great distance.

Of those ancient and regular governments that will soon fall, Spain seems determined to take the lead. Every thing internal is big with revolution, according to all the accounts which travellers of observation and veracity bring us from thence. In addition to this, the French government are on the point of demanding very serious explanation, why, during a year and a half of hostility with England, Spain has been more sedulous to help the common enemy, than aid the interests of her ally the French Republic. It is not very doubt-

† Such is the nature of the acquisitions which the Directory encourages the Princes of Germany to make at the expence of their neighbours. They are to be annexed to their territories only for the present, and till *the general deliverance* arrives. A spirit of justice or wisdom is said to have influenced the two great powers of the Empire to reject these poisoned gifts, and to refuse to lend themselves to the accomplishment of such iniquitous and dangerous projects. May this be the symptom of returning reason on other points not less important !

ful, that one of the interludes before alluded to, will be the march of an army across the Pyrenees, through Madrid to Lisbon, unless the demands made by the French government be instantly complied with, which are said to be the delivery of the Spanish Fleet into the hands of the French, to be put under the direction of French officers, and the invasion of the kingdom of Portugal by the Spanish Troops. In this alternative, it seems that Spain is placed, trembling on every side for her present political existence, and with good reason to tremble. If these two governments, which will then form one, be also revolutionized, a considerable portion of longitude and latitude in Europe will take the Republican system, and we shall have made *pretty decent progress*, considering the little space of time we have had to operate in, and the obstacles we have hitherto met with, which are at present considerably removed.

Amidst these changes without, you will no doubt be surprized to hear of an unexpected change, that takes place from time to time, within. You will have trembled for our Constitution, and probably felt *some alarm for liberty* on the events of the 18 Fructidor; you will have felt

similar *disagreeable sensations*, in hearing of the late arrests of the Deputies in Holland. These are events, no doubt, *very distressing*; but unfortunately we are so placed as to be obliged to commit one evil to avoid an accumulation;* no one pretends that either those men, at least the immense majority of them, who have been sent from time to time to Cayenne, or the Dutch Deputies now under arrest, are enemies either to Liberty or their respective Republics; *no one of common sense entertains this opinion*: knowing many of this conquered party intimately, I can aver, that they have left none behind more pure in manners, or more decided in favour of republican liberty. But, unfortunately, those of France suffered their personal passions to interfere with their political duties, and they lent unwittingly their aid to those who wished to crush the Republic, while their only aim was to crush the men in

* The invariable progress of guilt! The consequences of one crime produce the necessity of another, till at length a situation arises, from which there is no receding; but where the callous conscience, even of the most sanguinary Democrat, feels remorse and horror.

Facilis descensus averni,
Sed revocare gradum!

C

power, whom they considered as usurpers, and whom they hated. The men in power WERE TOO WELL VERSED IN REVOLUTIONS not to amalgamate their own personal enemies with those of the state ; and hence arises the expedition to Cayenne. Take the inverse ; suppose the conquered party had triumphed, we should have either an interminable civil war, or Royalty, if it were possible for this exploded system to return, would have been restored. These exiles would themselves have been the first victims of their own operations. In Holland these deputies confirmed the government ; in France the government overthrew the opposition, then the opposition overthrew the government. The government of Holland, though indebted for its political existence to France, has all along shewn a *most misplaced spirit of independence* ; and although the restitution of its colonies seemed the only barrier to a peace with England, has manifested a considerable degree of tardiness to join in the operations against that power. The imprudent and ever-suspected conduct of the government, in sending out the fleet to be taken by the English, and the reluctance they have shewn to come to any constitutional settlement, on the basis of equality, such as it is now generally understood, has led the French

government to lend its hand to the party of the opposition, who were more complying, and the government has changed its hands. It was not difficult to foresee that this event or a similar would take place. I had occasion to notice, during a short visit I made this last summer at the Hague, that cordiality between the two governments would not be of very long duration; and oftentimes they were told by M. Noel, the French ambassador, as he himself informed me, that unless they would *defer their extreme love of independence to a more convenient season*, and join more heartily with the French government in its great plan, they would rue the consequence,* which the event has justified. It is happy, however, that these evils are not out of the reach of repair—the peace will, no doubt, restore every thing to its original position.

In the mean while every thing within is in a state of the most perfect tranquility. The *public force* has *compressed* the attempts both of Jacobins and Royalists, and there appears no kind of reason for supposing that we shall have any more

* This is the people whom France professed to deliver from the yoke of England!

of these *civil movements* at present. The country, so far as respects its domicile state, is more advantageously situated than any other in Europe. Agriculture was never so much the rage, and manufactures, *but for the great encouragement given to English produce*, would have been equally thriving. Every thing in this country is as cheap again as in England; bread is from a half-penny to three farthings a pound; meat from threepence to fourpence, and other articles in proportion*. The difference of expence will no doubt make France the residence of vast numbers at the peace, independent of its other attractions, such as its being the centre of every thing that is sublime and elegant in the arts. The spoils of Italy are on their way to Paris. There will be collected in one point of view, especially since the late events at Rome, all that formerly attracted the visits of travellers to various parts of Italy. The government is also solicitous to make the best use of the treasure which it possesses, by constructing museums, academies, walks; and by enumerating the public promenades and gardens;

* The falsehood of this assertion hardly deserves refutation.— Every one knows that in such a comparison, the quality, as well as the nominal price of the articles, must be considered.

recal, as far as possible, the brilliant, scientific, and literary æras of the Grecian republics.

If there is any thing that meets with discouragement from government in this country, that refers to public instruction, it is the remains of the Roman Catholic Religion, which, with all the letters and laws of tolerance which have been passed, has not been able to raise itself up from under the crush of the interdict which the combined powers of philosophy and terror have laid on it. You have heard, no doubt, of the new sect which now has usurped every church in Paris, under the name of Theophilanthropism. This sect is prohibited by the government; but it is in the hands of ignorant men, who do not know how to use the weapons that are put into their hands. They are, however, for the most part well intentioned; and were they the means of information, *would probably make good Christians*. Nothing is read here on these subjects; because nothing is wrote. We have seen nothing but Mr. Paine's Age of Reason; of which an immense edition in French was published, and not twenty copies were sold. I am told he has also been rejected from the society of the Theophilanthropes, on the charge of intolerance. They have, at least, refused his of-

fers of public instruction. Some atheistical tracts have been published, which have been little attended to, and the mind is floating at present, not knowing on what ground to repose, unwilling to reject the Christian religion, and yet ignorant how to distinguish the wheat from the chaff.

Our national institute goes on, reading and publishing, and has just appearance of activity, though nothing of very considerable importance has been done since its formation. I believe I mentioned to you in my last letter, that Favery is about to publish a History of Chemistry, or, at least, is busily employed in writing, in the mode, as I understand from himself, of your History of Optics and Electricity. I have a packet of books done up for you, at a bookseller's; but the hopes of seeing you in France hindered me from sending them at the period I might have sent them, and now it would be extremely hazardous, since all American vessels are made prizes, and there is no security of conveyance; nevertheless, if I find a fortunate opportunity I shall send them, for I fear that we shall yet delay to see you here.

Whether we shall continue or increase our hostilities towards the United States, is as yet uncer-

tain; all depends on the great operation directing against England *. If that succeeds, English influence will probably not predominate amongst you. In the mean time, it is most likely that the French will go on as at present, treating *with as little ceremony as usual* every thing that relates to America. John Adams's speech on the opening of congress caused a few smiles; the more so, as it was understood to be a speech full of thunder and menace against France. Nothing is wanting but the interposition of some upright and patriotic citizen, to settle † the misunderstanding; but I fear *it will not be done in John Adams's time.*

* Mr. Stone's opinion on this point is not singular. There are few persons in Europe or America who do not now feel that their existence depends on our safety. If more anxiety is not expressed on the subject by foreigners, it proceeds from the confidence which our fleets inspire, and to which they are well entitled. We, for our part, have a stronger ground of confidence—a confidence IN OURSELVES.

† If report is to be credited, the Directory were by no means averse to *settle the misunderstanding* in the usual mode,* of the particulars of which M. D'Araujo, and other negociators, who have treated *personally* with them, can give a very accurate account, provided they are out of the reach of a *mandat d'arrêt*. What pity that no upright and patriotic citizen could be found to comply with this *upright and patriotic demand!*

I inclose a note for our friend M. B. P., but as ignorant of the name he bears at present among you, I must beg you to seal and address it. We have heard nothing of him since his departure, and know but vaguely that he is secreted at present at Kennebeck. Mr. Skipwith has promised that a letter shall be conveyed safely to you: I have therefore taken the opportunity of writing you a triple letter; and but for fear of wearying your patience, so much multiplied are events, I could fill half a dozen more. The History of the events in France of the last year you will find pretty largely detailed in the New Annual Register †, to which my present is a kind of supplement; but we hope that you will not long delay to be a fellow-witness of them with ourselves. I remain, with sentiments of the highest respect,

Your very faithful

And sincere friend,

J. H. STONE.

† This reference is very characteristic of the principles and views which have uniformly directed the publication here mentioned.

M. B. P. means Member of the British Parliament, & was intended for Benjamin Vaughan, member for Calne in the last Parliament.

MY DEAR SIR,

A VERY safe conveyance, by a friend of Mr. Skipwith, having presented itself, I have taken occasion to address something like a packet to Dr. Priestley, and shall also take the same opportunity of sending a few lines to yourself. We rest in faith, that you are safe and sound on some portion of the great Continent; but in what sign of the zodiack, we are as ignorant as if you were in the moon. We have heard nothing of you, or from you, directly or indirectly, since your departure; and, according to all appearance, shall have nothing from you till your return. I suppose, at least, you are within the knowledge of human events, which are passing so rapidly around us, as to furnish you with sufficient food for meditation even in your retreat. You will, no doubt, be a little surpris'd, and not a little pleas'd, to know that there exists two such powers in the world as the *Roman Republic* and the *Helvetian Republic*, one and indivisible. These operations are now taking place with great celerity; and, I suppose, it will not be long before you will hear of an Iberian Republic, of Lusitanian Republic, &c. &c. &c. In short, the political world rolls so rapidly, that we

scarce have time to look around us, and *admire* the revolution of one spot, before we are called off to look after another. Turkey is not exempt from the contagion. The Grecian States have felt the influence of the general insurrection, and both the northern and southern states in Europe, of this empire, are in a state of rebellious combustion. You will also have been much surprised to have seen the history of our internal rebellions, since your departure—the promotion and exile of Barthelemy—the promotion of Talleyrand, and his remaining in place*—*the mission of our friend Gallois, &c.* With respect to the events of the 18 Fructidor, you have, no doubt, from your very intimate knowledge of the politics of this country, drawn the just conclusions. It has been a happy event for the country, and attended with

* This is justly stated. The promotion (as it is called) of a noble, a priest, a bishop, and an emigré, to be one of the ministers of the Directory, might well surprise a person who had probably seen and conversed with Talleyrand in America. To be promoted and then exiled, is not indeed matter of much surprise: but to be promoted and to remain for any considerable time in place has not happened to any Revolutionist yet, and we believe it never will; though Mr. Stone tells us that Talleyrand so conducts himself as to make his place respectable, and to insure his continuance in it.—Two things which do not seem very consistent, when applied to the situation of a Minister of the French Directory.

the happiest consequences. Regret no doubt that these individual evils take place, but incalculable evils have thereby been avoided; for though the conquered party HAD NO VIEW AGAINT THE REPUBLIC, yet the hosts of emigrants and royalists, armed and prepared for action, which at that time filled Paris, relied on this party for their support.

The government since has conducted itself with great prudence and moderation, considering the circumstances in which it was placed. It has, however, taken a firm* and is likely to meet with no more disturbances. The minister who has the greatest influence, and who throws a lustre over the rest, is the Citizen Talleyrand. He so conducts himself, as not only to make his place respectable, but so as to insure his continuance in it. We are also good friends—I see him now and then at his hotel, and once or twice he has done me the honour of a visit. On occasions, which some day in the history of events I may tell you, he continually enquires for you, and begs his best remembrances. The great actor is the Director Merlin—he was at our

* Not legible.

house the day before yesterday, and we renewed our acquaintance.

The person who goes out next month is Francois De Neufchateau,* and his successor will be named in consequence of a new regulation by the present legislature: so that the same spirit will continue to direct operations as before. The police is very strong and active;—many towns in the South Army (among which Lyons) are put *en etat de siege*,† and every measure has been taken to repress the spirit of fanaticism and royalty, which, without the 18th Fructidor, would have overturned the Republic, or plunged it into the horrors of civil war and confusion.

* This is the true system of a constitutional rotation of office by lot, when the person on whom the lot is to fall is known, and declared, three months before the dice are cast. Since this was written, it is reported that these great men have quarrelled about the price of this political swindling, and that they are all to stand their lot except Merlin.

† Observe the picture drawn by these conspirators of the country in which they live, and which they say is in its domestic state more advantageously situated than the rest of Europe.—Its manufactures are annihilated, its religion is interdicted, the public mind is floating between atheists and drivellers. Its legislators and governors are seized and transported without the pretence of guilt—Its principal cities are in a state of siege—and all this is done to avoid an accumulation of worse evils!

Your convert is very busy in collecting over the remains of his tottering faith; the good man has just written a letter to the Grand Inquisition of Spain, which, translated into Spanish, is to be distributed in that country. Spain is not very far from a revolution, and it is likely that these latter events will take place before the English expedition, for which immense preparations are making. Of the revolution of Switzerland you will see the accounts in the public papers. Our friend Le Grand is preparing a constitution for the new republic. Ochs has been very officious in this business, and has been here shewing himself off as the sole and great regenerator of his country. However, the thing is done; and the three-coloured flag, with William Tell's hat, has displaced the* on the Council House of Berne. You will probably see Miss W.'s two volumes of Travels by the time this reaches you.

Abbe Gregoire

And now a few words on Domestic affairs. The manufactory of which you laid the corner stone is now finished, and forms one of the finest establishments in France.—But it has been sub-

* Not legible.

ject to many mutations since you left us:—Mr. Parker, for instance, has met with such a reverse of fortune, that he has not been able to pay more than one-third of one action;—neither De Wit nor Van Stephent; or any of their original properties, are any thing in it. But we have among our friends got a very respectable company, who have paid in their shares, and the establishment is new entirely. I have paid in two shares, and am allowed till *Prairial* to make up the third, by the pot or pearl ash we expect from America. If they do not arrive, I forfeit the pledge I have put in. Whether that is to come, if you would give us a single line to inform us, you would much oblige us. You will not be displeased at this work of your hands, when you come to see what a superb place, as well as convenient one,

M. TALLEYRAND IS
A SUBSCRIBER.

In the pleasing expectation of seeing you once more among us, I subscribe for myself, as well as for Gallois, Talleyrand, Erigone, and our family,

Your most faithful—

12th February, 1798.

PRAY are you continuing your speculations on the great events? are you in the prefs?—Dr. G—— has written us that he has sent to your order the books you wrote.—Is there any thing here that we can send you?

P.S. If pot or pearl ash could be sent, and a credit of nine or twelve months given, it would answer the same purpose as if it was sent from the works. I shall then be in full cash to answer it.

The first opportunity, the French translation of my Swiss Travels—for I have no English copy in my possession.—It is translated with great elegance by M. Say, Redacteur of the Decade Philosophique.—I flatter myself you will approve the spirit in which it is written.

With the warmest wishes for your happiness, and for all who are dear to you, believe me ever,

My dear Sir,

Your most affectionate—

My mother and sister are well, and I have two charming little nephews—the eldest is already an excellent republican.

In another Hand.

I SNATCH a little scrap of M.'s paper, to recal myself to your remembrance, and to remind you, my dear sir, that we count the seasons for the fulfilment of your promise to your friends in this part of the world.—All here remember you with those sentiments of respect and affection, and regret your loss with that unaffected concern to which you have such claim. We hope the period is not distant when those requests will cease.—

FINIS.

In a few Days will be Published,

THE SPEECH OF ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER, Esq. (author of the celebrated "**OBSERVATIONS on the Dispute between FRANCE and the UNITED STATES,**") on the **FOREIGN INTERCOURSE BILL**, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, Friday, the 2d of March, 1798.

Also,

AN INTERESTING PAMPHLET, addressed to the **PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN**, by **PETER PORCUPINE**.



